

IS PUBLISHED
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
AT THE

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 31 CORNHILL.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

50c.—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

Five copies will be sent to one address for 25c., if payment be made in advance.

All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (*Post Paid*), to the General Agent.

Advertisements making less than one square inch three times for 75c.—one square for \$1.00.

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, via.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LADD, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

In the columns of *The Liberator*, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 7.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the *Dadeville (Ala.) Banner*, Jan. 30th.

KANSAS.

We give below a sketch of the remarks of Mr. Beck on introducing his bill to aid emigration to Kansas, and also the remarks of Mr. Cochran, on the same subject, made in the House on the 12th instant.

Mr. Beck said:—“Mr. Speaker—it will be perceived that this bill provides for the sending of emigrants from this State to Kansas. This, sir, is an important matter, and deserves the attentive consideration of the Legislature. It proposes, too, that a special tax shall be levied on the slave property to defray the expenditure of this colonization. If we wish to end in putting an end to the sectional and fanatical efforts of Abolitionism, it is time that we took some measures to secure our constitutional rights, and secure the territory of Kansas for the South. There is, then, no doubt that the people of Alabama wish Kansas to be secured to the Southern States. It has been proposed that this end be effected by individual subscription; but, sir, individual subscription is not adequate to that end.

While the efforts of Abolitionists are growing stronger and stronger every day—while there are no means discarded by them to wage a perpetual war on our institution of slavery—while the great State of Alabama remains idle, rest supinely on her back, and see Northern fanaticism roll its tide along, without making the least effort to stay its progress! Shall she do nothing, and suffer Kansas to be lost—sunk in the mire of Abolitionism? In

the whole history of civilization, the system of abolition has been unexampled. The discovery of America was unexampled by this same means.

The plan of colonizing has been universally adopted. In our own country, colonizing agents have been sent to Germany and other parts of Europe, to bring out the hardy sons of toil and locate them in our Western wilds. The Massachusetts Legislature has indirectly resorted to this scheme; she has chartered emigrant societies composed of men who have gone to Kansas with an avowed hostility to our slave institution, and a fixed determination to uproot it in that territory. Now, let us do distinctly, manfully, and boldly, what Massachusetts has done indirectly and cannily. There is no legal objection to this course, there can be none. Alabama has a right to do this. It is her interest to see that Kansas is secured to the South, under the present circumstances. Suppose, sir, that Cuba should become the rendezvous for a horde of robbers who injured our commerce or trade—a nest of our enemies—would not the United States be authorized to seize and take it, both according to the law of nations, and on the ground of self-protection? Most certainly she would. Now, sir, the question of constitutional right to use and appropriate property is to be tested in the Kansas issues. Let the Abolitionists obtain full sway in that territory, and the institution of slavery in the South is doomed. Yes, sir, unless we secure Kansas, we are not assured that our institution stands danger—not absolutely present danger, perhaps, but no less imminent because reserved and delayed. President Pierce, sir, in his late message expressly says that the Northern States have been urged to urge forward a system of aggression against the institution of slavery, which, but for the Union, would be on the part of the South, a just cause of war. If such aggressions have been so great as even to attract the attention of our Federal Government, and led to their decided denunciation of aggressive policy on the part of the North, shall we now quibble about expediency? Shall we bring ourselves to look upon so important a matter merely in the light of economy—and thus aid the aggressions of the North by suffering Kansas to be lost to us and the South? No, sir. Let the Alabama Legislature, at least, speak the will of the people, and pass this law.”

Mr. Beck having resumed his seat, Mr. Cochran addressed the House as follows:—

“Mr. Speaker: In my opinion, a crisis has now arisen in the progress of Southern civilization, and the action of this House should be called to it, as the most important consideration which can now occupy our time. I am glad, sir, heartily glad, that the bill now under consideration has been introduced by that member from Wilcox, and only regret that this member has not been herebefore pressed on the notice of this House. Sir, the history of our race proves that the most difficult matter in the world is to make a prosperous and happy people and provide safety in the distance. The distance in the case is only geographical. The institution of Africa also has been a constant contest in Alabama; and if it is brought into contact with the internal battery of Abolition there, the shock must be instantly felt in Alabama, and the doom of the institution will be impressed on our destiny.

It is an undoubted fact, that we have here at the South a system of civilization organized upon certain principles—principles that are immutable and sanctioned by Providence herself. When, sir, our forefathers framed the Constitution of these United States, they saw plainly that the Almighty had fixed the relation of superior and inferior master and slave—as to the different races on the earth: and who man does not know that the white race feels and knows its superiority, while the negro race, when coming in conflict with the white race, admits its inferiority? This, sir, is in fact the very foundation of society—placing the white race in a superior position—allotted to it, and placing the negro race in an inferior or servile position—fixed

for a week from the proclamation of the Governor, 1800 well armed men, with six or seven cannon, were around Lawrence! No abolitionist dared show himself outside of the town! the few who ventured out travelled by night, and but few of them escaped. Although there was a burning and feverish desire on the part of the pro-slavery men to hang the leaders and drive the last one of the miserable wretches back to their dens in New England, they determined to restrain their personal feelings while enforcing obedience to the laws. They hoped the abolitionists would stand to their threats, and would thus give a justification for blotting them out. Not only Gov. Shannon, Gen. Richardson, the officers, but the men felt that if one blow was struck, the end would be the summary execution of every abolitionist in the territory. The abolitionists were not slow to discover their condition, and were ready to submit to any demands made by the Governor.

The abolitionists have shown that they are not only miserable cowards, but have been so terribly frightened that there is no danger of any open violence in the future. They have been cowed, but not trampled on; they have shown their fear to restrain, without having their cowardly vengeance aroused to commit secret crimes.

They have seen that in a moment's time can be arrayed sufficient to crush them—the boasted promises of their leaders are falsified—they have

been compelled to back out from the position taken

in their public meetings and conventions, to yield in obedience to the laws, even to aid in enforcing the institution. All this has been effected without bloodshed. Had the natural embittered feelings of any of the pro-slavery men once burst forth, it would not have been in the power of any to control them. The Territory would have been scourged; the last abolitionist executed. The moral effect would have been far less than the peaceful submission we have seen effected. Greeley and his Eastern aids are made to see that they are at the mercy of brave and good men. Southern men have professed that they and their property are safe—will be profited.

We are gratified at the result—gratified that Gov. Shannon, while administering the law rigidly, was able to administer it mercifully. And we look to no future trouble in the territory. At the polls, on the battle-field, the abolitionists have been signally vanquished. They must seek another field for their operations.

STRONGFELLOW GRINDING HIS ORGAN.

We would it were within the range of the most liberal indulgence for us to express satisfaction with the adjustment of the difficulties which called to large a number of the squatter sovereigns from their fiefdoms to encounter the inclemency of bleak December winds.

Had the master rested with Mr. Jones, the sheriff, the result would have been different. The criminal would have been traced to their hiding-places, and safely secured against the audacity of a set of God-for-saken fanatics. This would have given satisfaction, answered the purpose of the regulation, and fulfilled the ends of justice. As it is, base, cowardly, sneaking scoundrels will go unpunished, and be left free to perpetrate their infamous outrages wherever they may find an unopposed pro-slavery master. We have heard the opinion expressed by some, that the moral effect of the policy pursued will have a happier result than a more decisive and rigorous course would have had. Talk to us of “moral effect” upon a set of low-flung pharisees, who make one job of saying their prayers and picking a pocket. As well preach morality to the devil, as to expect a set of thieving abolitionists to be influenced by “moral effect.” Such ingrates are only to be controlled through fear of bodily injury or pecuniary loss, and not through the ordinary channels by which the better portion of humanity are governed.

SOUTHERN VAPORING.

Extract from the recent message of Gov. Hebert to the Legislature of Louisiana:—

There was much high feeling and indignation in the House this afternoon upon the reading of the Vermont resolutions. Every man expressed that he was contempt and loathing for this string of insidious falsehoods, and for their authors. The Governor argues the question of the resolves upon true Southern ground, contains of the continual attack of abolitionists upon Southern institutions, declares that there is no outlet for slavery at the southwest except through Kansas, which is a western boundary of Missouri, and which State will be bounded on three sides by Free States, if Kansas shall be declared free from slavery. The House of Representatives took up the subject in the following heliose manner, as we learn by a letter to a Savannah paper:—

GEORGIA AND VERMONT.

Gov. Johnson of Georgia, on the 28th ult. sent a special message to the Legislature of that State, which occupies about a column of a half, transmitting therewith a copy of the Vermont resolutions upon the Kansas question. The Governor argues the question of the resolves upon true Southern ground, contains of the continual attack of abolitionists upon Southern institutions, declares that there is no outlet for slavery at the southwest except through Kansas, which is a western boundary of Missouri, and which State will be bounded on three sides by Free States, if Kansas shall be declared free from slavery. The House of Representatives took up the subject in the following heliose manner, as we learn by a letter to a Savannah paper:—

Mr. Jones of Green moved to refer them to the Legislature on the State of the Republic.

Mr. Jones of Morgan opposed, and offered a resolution that the Governor transmit to the Governor of Vermont, with a reprobate to lay the same before the Legislature of said State, the resolves of the Georgia Convention of 1850, and to enclose within the same a *leaden bullet*.

Mr. Terhune said he would go for that, if they had sand powder with it.

Mr. Jones.—And a coil of rope?

Mr. Terhune.—Hanging is too good for traitors. He was opposed to referring these resolutions to the Committee on the State of the Republic. Words were useless. The time for action had come. He, for one, was prepared to act, and he hoped they would not be bound in the form of a committee.

Mr. Crook, chairman of the committee, assured the gentleman from Floyd that the committee had as much contempt for these things as he, and that some active indication of that would be recommended by them.

Mr. Smith of Union offered the following resolutions, the reading of which was received with applause by the House:—

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, that its Excellency, the Governor, be and is hereby requested to transmit the Vermont resolutions forthwith to the deep and fastidious sink of social and political infamy from whence they emanated, with the following unequivocal declaration inscribed thereon:—

Resolved, That Georgia, standing on her constitutional palladium, needs not the maniac ravings of hell-born fanatics, nor stoops from her lofty position to hold terms with perfidious traitors.

After some further discussion, the motion to refer prevailed. A motion was then made to print 500 copies of the Governor's message (accompanying these resolutions) and Vermont resolves. The House would not for a moment entertain the idea of printing these insults, but after some further debate, 100 copies of the message were ordered to be printed.

From the *Weston Argus*.

THE KANSAS REBELLION.

Since our last issue, we have obtained full and reliable information touching the late difficulties in Kansas; and as many conflicting reports have gone forth, we propose to give a brief statement of the matter as it originated, and settled.

In less than four days from the Governor's

proclamation, the pro-slavery men, the real law-abiding men, began to assemble at Wakarusa, between Leavenworth and Lecompton, above Lawrence. In less than a week from the proclamation of the Governor, 1800 well armed men, with six or seven cannon, were around Lawrence! No abolitionist

dared show himself outside of the town! the few who ventured out travelled by night, and but few of them escaped. Although there was a burning and feverish desire on the part of the pro-slavery men to hang the leaders and drive the last one of the miserable wretches back to their dens in New England, they determined to restrain their personal feelings while enforcing obedience to the laws. They hoped the abolitionists would stand to their threats, and would thus give a justification for blotting them out. Not only Gov. Shannon, Gen. Richardson, the officers, but the men felt that if one blow was struck, the end would be the summary execution of every abolitionist in the territory. The abolitionists were not slow to discover their condition, and were ready to submit to any demands made by the Governor.

The abolitionists have shown that they are not

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frightened that there is no danger of any open

violence in the future. They have been cowed,

but not trampled on; they have shown their fear to restrain, without having their cowardly

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They have seen that in a moment's time can be

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friends are made to see that they are at the mercy of

brave and good men. Southern men have professed

that they and their property are safe—will be profited.

We are gratified at the result—gratified that Gov. Hebert

is in fact the next Presidency. It says:—

Our correspondent from Washington is right, we

think, in saying that President Pierce is the natural

and almost necessary candidate for the next Presi-

dency. He is a man of great talents, and has

done much for the country.

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Jamaica. We, on the other hand, should say to her, 'The notice we gave was not an idle bravado, and having given it, we do not mean to expose ourselves to the contempt of the world by uttering a threat which we have not the courage to execute.' We must then drive out the British, if we can, by an attack on their possessions. Let the notice contemplated by Mr. Cass and Mr. Seward once be given, and, if the Mosquito Indians be not exterminated by the small-pox or the cholera, and if British Honduras and the Bay Islands be not swallowed up by an earthquake, war will follow.

In which part of the United States the calamitous results of a war with Great Britain would be most seriously felt, we have already shown. It is the nature of disease in the human body to fix itself in the weaker parts. In our republic, the Southern States, occupying four-fifths of our sea-coast, and most open to invasion on account of their comparatively thin population, half of whom are slaves, and have no country to defend, would be infinitely the greatest sufferers by a war with Great Britain. The agriculture of the slave States, which supplies the cotton mills of England, would be ruined by it; the young men of the South would be drafted to defend their coast, with the usual waste of life in war; the slaves left at home would be the secret friends of the invaders; there would be no sense of security at the firesides of their masters; slave-breeding would become an unprofitable pursuit; the dreams of a patriarchal residence, and of employing an overseer and woman-slaver. For this last situation, we recommend the distinguished Bunker Hill Democrat we have before alluded to.

From the Providence Transcript.

THE SPEAKERSHIP.

Twenty years ago, the most discerning politician could not have dreamed that the question of slavery would have made such rapid advances towards the halls of our national Congress. When Wm. Lloyd Garrison was imprisoned in Baltimore jail, in 1828, and a year or two after gave utterance to his convictions in a secluded hall in Boston, concerning slavery, every one then supposed him a fanatic, and hence paid but little regard to his views upon the subject. But what a change has come over the nation. Though Garrison is widely in error upon many points, his leading views on the slavery question are now shaking the nation from centre to circumference, and the mere choice of a Speaker, whether he be a slavery or an anti-slavery man—a Nebraska or an anti-Nebraska bill man in his views, is merely a superficial question. The day is coming when the Southern advocates of the peculiar "Institution" will know the power of the North, when the self-willed and rampant-hulying of Southern men on the floor of Congress will find the might of those who represent the principles of Freedom, to be respected. It is only a question of time. Eight must have the ascendancy. It cannot be crushed. It is mighty, and will prevail. The question of the speaker, as to which one of the candidates may be chosen, has been thus far a subject of interest to us, only so far as it relates to the great point—the extension of the area of human slavery. The difficulty in the choice thus far of a Speaker, will beget a similar difficulty when any bill hereafter is brought before the House, involving the same point upon which the present contest has arisen.

From the Practical Christian.

THE INDEPENDENT' VS. MR. GARRETTSON.

The above named widely circulated and influential "orthodox" journal has a reputation for liberality and Christian magnanimity, borrowed from HENRY WARD BEECHER's connection with it, that does not by any means belong to it. It is therefore getting some subscribers from the ranks of reform (unintentionally, perhaps) under "false pretences." It is really, in some of its deportments, one of the most narrow, sectarian and bigoted papers of the day. Whether it is superstitiously or maliciously we are not in doubt. For instance, in its issue of January 3d, after pouring out a tirade of political abuse upon Prof. HARE, in review of his work on "Spiritualism," it says—"Of the converts to Spiritualism, whose previous belief is mentioned in this book, almost all were infidels; and some of them, like GARRISON and ROBERT OWEN, of a most degraded class." [!] Now we do not hesitate to say of the writer of that article, (editorial,) not knowing who he is, that he must be either a religious ignoramus, or a whining canting bigot. MR. GARRISON—a degraded infidel! We can almost see HENRY WARD BEECHER throwing this "Independent" from him in contempt and indignation, half resolved to lend his reputation to such a Pharisaical sheet no longer. PROF. HARE and ROBERT OWEN must take care of themselves, for we are not of their school, and strongly dissent from many of their notions; but we think they are grossly abused. ROBERT OWEN has been no "degraded infidel," but, as far as we can judge, an honest and benevolent man, though now he seems to us to be passing through a species of delusion. But MR. GARRISON!—we should like to see him and his fanatical critics on a platform together, where the people, looking upon their countenances and hearing their voices, could judge between them. MR. GARRISON doesn't believe all the silly notions in which his viiler probably believes, not in his vindictive God, but—well, posterity will tell the rest. If this editor truly represents the "Independent," it is unworthy the support of freedom-loving and large-minded men.—W. H. F.

FREE NEGROES IN GEORGIA.

Proceedings in the Legislature of Georgia, Jan. 25.

From the Savannah Republican.

The bill for the removal of free negroes was next taken up. Dr. Phillips offered a substitute recommending the propriety of assessing them all with a tax to raise a fund to be used for the purpose of removing them.

Mr. Jones spoke in opposition to the bill and the substitute. The principle involved in this measure was revolting to his nature. The dignity of the legislature should be above such paltry, ungenerous movements, as waging war on the poor, defenceless, unrepresented portion of the community, a portion having no means of redress in case they are wronged, holding the intermediate position between slaves and the lowest class of whites. If any class need protection, they did, and if any class should be free from persecution, they should.

The philanthropical gentlemen engaged in the colonization scheme, animated with the purest motives of benevolence and charity, after having witnessed the effects of exportation, characterized it as a curse upon the free negroes. Every returning ship brings earnest petitions from these poor unhappy exiles, driven from this free country, to be brought back again to the country of their birth and their friends.

Mr. Crook of Chattooga, in reply, said that this was an act of self-preservation, of deliberate, prudent estimation of dire consequences to result from the presence of a dangerous people. Other Southern States have enacted laws similar to this; the free States excluded them, and thus, in Georgia, would gather this almost outcast population in numbers sufficient to warrant the idea of danger.

Mr. Dawson of Greene, addressing himself to the arguments of Mr. Crook, said there were statutes prohibiting the introduction of free negroes. Joel Early of Greene, liberated thirty slaves, all of whom went to Liberia, and of this number one was living, the rest having died off one by one. He could not support the bill. There were stringent laws to keep them in check, and the laws of the State forbid manumission. He had observed those who lived in his county to be orderly and well behaved.

Mr. Haynes of Chattooga, has but ninety-three negroes, and consequently there is no cause for alarm on the part of the gentleman from that county.

Mr. Jones then spoke of their low condition, fervently appealing for sympathy for the ignorant, benighted African; he showed statistics proving the perfect immunity from danger from this class, exhibited the effect of colonization, &c. Mr. Crook then replied, most ably sustaining his positions, adding new arguments, and occasionally indulging in a flight of eloquence.

Dr. Phillips supported Mr. Crook with great power, and, in the course of his remarks, brought up the name of Jefferson.

Mr. Lawton of Chatham, said that he knew a large number of old residents in Savannah, slaveholders, who were well acquainted with every change that had taken place in the circumstances of the blacks, and those men apprehended no danger. The free negroes were orderly, hardworking industrious, law-respecting people. He differed from the gentleman concerning the colonization society. He believed it was a medium of much good; different accounts had been received from Liberia, and they all seemed to be doing well there. He did not think now was the proper time to legislate on the subject.

Mr. Harris of Fulton, objected to so summary a disposition of such an important matter. Intro-

duced by a distinguished legislator, some action should be taken upon it—the people expected and demanded it. The subject was postponed indefinitely.

MILLEDGEVILLE, January 25.
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House then took up the special order of the day, the bill for the removal of all free persons of color from this state. This bill provides that all free persons of color, found within the limits of this state after December next, shall be sold into servitude.

Dr. Phillips of Habersham, offered a substitute, assessing a capitation tax upon all free negroes within this State, between the ages of 16 and 60, to be set apart as fund, to be expended in the voluntary removal of such free negroes as may be willing to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, and for their support for six months after such removal. There was some very eloquent speaking upon this bill.

Mr. Jones of Muscogee, first took the floor. He was decidedly opposed to the measure, and combated it with much fervor and pointed argument.

The earnestness of his manner had its effect, and for the present home of the poor negro he pleaded with an eloquent pathos that made not a few converts to his side.

[Our correspondent here proceeds to report the remarks of some opponent of the bill, but omits his name.]

Admit that there are evils arising from the presence of this class of our population, but not of such a character as, in my judgment, authorizes a resort to so harsh and inhuman a remedy as is contemplated by this bill. I am fully prepared to advocate any law which will enable us more effectually to enforce our police regulations, with regard to the free negro population of this state, but I do not think it necessary for us, in support of the institution of slavery, to resort to a system of legislation, whose severe operation oppresses alone those who are feeble and defenceless; whose position is created by our own laws, and who have the implied faith and pledge of those very laws for the continuance of that position, and the protection of all the rights incident to it. I do not believe, sir, that the inconvenience and (may be) positive evils arising from the presence of this free negro population among us requires, or could justify, a resort to so horrible a remedy for its removal as that of violence transporting them to their Van Dieman's Land, this Siberia.

It has been urged that this system of compulsory immigration or deportation is one of the ways in the providence of God intended to Christianize the benighted sons of Africa. I do not profess, Mr. Speaker, to be particularly anxious to be instrumental in bringing about this glorious result, for I am willing to leave them to the good Lord who made them, in the utmost confidence that he has the ability to take care of them; but were I a firm believer in this method of saving souls, I should never send such a mission such a class as my friend from Chattooga has described. Why, sir, send thieves, and robbers, and murderers, the exponents of rebellion and treason and insurrection, the advocates of all kinds of social disorder and lawlessness, to teach the doctrines of the mock and lowly Jesus to the benighted sons of Africa.

It seems to me that from such instructions the Christian and the philanthropist would exclaim, "May the good Lord deliver them!"

But, sir, the main objection which I have to this bill is, that it gives aid and comfort, encouragement and countenance, to an association, which, in my judgment, is highly prejudicial to our interest, and one calculated to aid the abolitionists in their crusade for the extirpation of slavery, and the establishment of free society.

I know, sir, that there are many men connected with these societies from the most humane and laudable motives—I know, sir, that great names have lent the sanction of their approval to the objects of those associations; but feeling that they are calculated to effect evil, and only evil, I must speak as I feel about them. I mean, sir, the Colonization Societies. They are, sir, nothing but off-shoots and feeders from the parent trunk—abolition; and they are the more dangerous, because they come in the guise of friendship and on a mission of peace. Place the funds proposed to be raised by this tax in the hands of these Colonization Societies, to be by them distributed among their itinerant lecturers, and my word for it you will feel the influence of abolition growing and strengthening, as the result of their labors.

Why, sir, preach, lecture, write to the free negroes of the necessity of their exodus Liberia, to form a government for themselves; convince them, by the powers of your oratory, of their capacity for self-government; and the slaves who hear you, must be deprived of the intellectual power God has given them if they too are not converted.

One must oblige from the organization of the slave every vestige of reason if you let it become an especial duty to take note of any facts which seem to indicate even partial repentance and amendment.

THE LIBERATOR accordingly gave prompt insertion to the statement which it found, that the Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn had voted not to make its customary contribution this year to the American Tract Society.

This statement is so far literally correct as that, at a small meeting for business, held by that church, the measure in question was decided by a small majority of those who actually voted, while a considerable number did not vote. And the New York Observer, the Journal of Commerce, and other pro-slavery papers, boast that the real sentiment of the church is by no means represented by this vote, and that in fact a larger contribution than usual will probably flow this year from the Church of the Pilgrims into the Tract Society's treasury.

The facts in the case appear to be these. The church in question (under the pastoral care of Richard S. Storrs, Jr.) has been accustomed to take annually one collection for the American Tract Society, and another for its auxiliary, the Brooklyn Tract Society. A year ago it was voted to drop the former of these, on the ground that they were then making two collections each year for substantially the same object, and that a new object, to which they had previously given nothing, might profitably fill the vacant place. At the annual meeting of the church this year, held a few weeks ago, some one moved to restore the direct contribution to the parent Society, thus making again a double collection for the Tract cause, as managed by the American Society and its auxiliaries. This motion was rejected by a vote of fourteen to nine, twelve of those present giving no vote upon the question. Thus the parent society was again excluded on the ground, distinctly expressed in debate, that the Pilgrim Church would not endorse the course of the present administration of the American Tract Society on the subject of slavery.

But how comes it that the fourteen who gave this vote make no corresponding movement against the Brooklyn auxiliary, which of course acts upon the same principles, and in the same manner, as its parent. If these gentlemen are intelligent observers of slavery and its influences, they most know that Brooklyn needs to be evangelized upon this subject not less than Richmond or Charleston, and that it would be a wasteful squandering of men, tract and funds, to send them to the South, while the North remains unconvinced and unconverted.

While the citizens of Brooklyn despise and oppress the colored people among them, while they stand ready to deliver again to his master the servant who has escaped from his master to them, while they are satisfied to secure the supposed advantages of Southern trade by taking the part of the oppressor against the oppressed, and while the great majority of their churches and clergy co-operate, both by speech and silence, to continue this state of things—the Brooklyn Tract Society have an urgent and most important duty in relation to slavery and its influences. They should now be actively circulating, not but, many tracts, on the many branches of this subject. And if they are neither doing this, nor any part of it, nor originating any movement in that direction, it is not the duty of the fourteen protestants against the parent society to take the same course with the auxiliary—and, by a more forcible statement of the facts and the arguments, to seek to awaken their brethren of the Pilgrim church to action in the same direction—and, by exposing the false assumptions by which societies in alliance with slavery claim to be considered Evangelical and Christian, to lay the foundation for new and better agencies for the spread of the Gospel—and, by banding together with the like-minded, and lifting up their voice like a trumpet, to encourage their pastor, and the pastor of the neighboring Plymouth church to make stronger and more thorough appeals than they have yet done upon this subject?

The Independent informs us that the Church of the Pilgrims has neither voted, nor as yet contemplates, to secede from the Tract Society—that it has merely refused to endorse the present administration of the society (Dr. Nehemiah Adams & Co.)—and that it is free to adopt in the future whatever course on the subject may seem most expedient. We fear that they are actually entitled to no more credit than this; but we hope that they may speedily learn, if not from their official advisers, from some other source, that here as elsewhere, the right is the expedient.—C. E. W.

ALABAMA IN THE FIELD.

We have been favored by mail with a printed copy of the following able and interesting document, of which, for the information and edification of our readers and the world at large.

[Here follows the "Bill to be entitled an Act to enforce the Rights of Alabama against her Enemies," published in last week's Liberator.]

Over the top of the copy received by us is written, "Mr. Cochran's Bill, with respects of the author." It is, therefore, we suppose, the courtesy of Mr. Cochran, that we are indebted for one of 133 copies of this bill, ordered to be printed by the Alabama Legislature, and we are doubtless consulting his wishes no less than that of Richard or Charles.

The first section of this proposed bill is a little muddy, especially the concluding part; but we take its intent to be this: that any person indicted for murder, highway robbery, arson, rape, burglary, pocket-picking or any other crime, may plead in justification that the person upon whom the crime was committed was a citizen of Massachusetts, or that as agent or attorney, he had induced that person to commit the crime.

He could not support the bill. There were stringent laws to keep them in check, and the laws of the State forbade manumission.

He had observed those who lived in his county to be orderly and well behaved.

Mr. Haynes of Chattooga, has but ninety-three negroes, and consequently there is no cause for alarm on the part of the gentleman from that county.

Mr. Jones then spoke of their low condition, fervently appealing for sympathy for the ignorant, benighted African; he showed statistics proving the perfect immunity from danger from this class, exhibited the effect of colonization, &c. Mr. Crook then replied, most ably sustaining his positions, adding new arguments, and occasionally indulging in a flight of eloquence.

Dr. Phillips supported Mr. Crook with great power, and, in the course of his remarks, brought up the name of Jefferson.

Mr. Lawton of Chatham, said that he knew a large number of old residents in Savannah, slaveholders, who were well acquainted with every change that had taken place in the circumstances of the blacks, and those men apprehended no danger.

The free negroes were orderly, hardworking industrious, law-respecting people. He differed from the gentleman concerning the colonization society. He believed it was a medium of much good; different accounts had been received from Liberia, and they all seemed to be doing well there.

He did not think now was the proper time to legislate on the subject.

Mr. Harris of Fulton, objected to so summary a disposition of such an important matter. Intro-

duction by a distinguished legislator, some action should be taken upon it—the people expected and demanded it. The subject was postponed indefinitely.

MILLEDGEVILLE, January 25.
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House then took up the special order of the day, the bill for the removal of all free persons of color from this state. This bill provides that all free persons of color, found within the limits of this state after December next, shall be sold into servitude.

Dr. Phillips of Habersham, offered a substitute, assessing a capitation tax upon all free negroes within this State, between the ages of 16 and 60, to be set apart as fund, to be expended in the voluntary removal of such free negroes as may be willing to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, and for their support for six months after such removal.

There was some very eloquent speaking upon this bill.

Mr. Jones of Muscogee, first took the floor.

He was decidedly opposed to the measure, and combated it with much fervor and pointed argument.

The earnestness of his manner had its effect,

and for the present home of the poor negro he pleaded with an eloquent pathos that made not a few converts to his side.

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LETTER FROM MISS ESTLIN.

BOSTON, (Eng.) Jan. 10, 1856.

MY DEAR MR. GARRISON:
Your kind letter containing the resolutions of the Executive Committee in reference to the death of my revered father, did not come into my possession until yesterday, although it is dated Sept. 20th. This must account for the length of time which has elapsed without my acknowledging this gratifying proof of the high appreciation of my venerated parent, by every individual who, on the last day of mortal consciousness, designated as 'some of the most self-sacrificing, high-principled, exemplary people I have ever known, whom it is an honor and privilege to co-operate with.' They were more resemble the early Christians than any band of philanthropists I ever met with." [Some of these words were traced by his own hand, with a pencil, while he lay bed, on Friday, June 8th,—the rest he dictated to me; they form part of the rough sketch of the letter referred to by Mr. May in the *Liberator*, which lies unfinished.]

I do not regret the delay that has occurred in my acknowledgment of their kind words, because they have been so fully unmasked, even in Ireland, I can scarcely think that those who sent out the deputation were not aware of the responsibility they would incur in thus recognizing as Christian a church and priesthood who are as deadly foes to the true gospel of Jesus it has ever had to contend with, not excepting the Jewish priests who crucified him." This is a reproach of deep dye than the other, if true. Can Mr. Johnston prove, in the first place, that the Methodist Conference in Ireland were so convinced of the pro-slavery and hypocrisy of the M. E. Church, that they should run the risk of incurring such a terrible responsibility by sending a deputation to raise money to evangelize that priest-ridden country, that the above paragraph implies?

In the second place, can Mr. Johnston prove that the M. E. Church and priesthood are as deadly foes to the true gospel of Jesus as it has ever had to contend with, not excepting the Jewish priests? Such a statement must be the product of a mind blinded by prejudice, or a heart full of *ostentation*, or *hypocrisy*. It is not a well-known fact, that the M. E. Church, and the Methodist Church in general, have as much or more to evangelize the world at any *sect* since the days of Jesus Christ, and that other Christian churches have often been benefited by its influence.

But this Church is too well known to require eulogy, or to be injured by such slanders and I have just quoted, in the opinion of the intelligent part of the world; but for the sake of those who do not know better, I ask of Mr. Johnston either to prove or retract the above statement.

There are other expressions in the article, equally doubtful, if not false, but it is useless to review these until the above are proved.

Mr. Editor, these remarks are written by a true friend of freedom, humanity and evangelical religion, who is vexed with all that would injure these things, but one who simply desires that the truth may be known.

Yours, &c.,
EDWARD DAVIS.

Scarborough, (Me.) Jan. 29, 1856.

A. T. FOSS IN PEPPERELL.

REV. S. MAY, JR.:
DEAR SIR.—Last Sunday, our strong-hearted, plain-spoken, unceremonious anti-slavery lecturer, ANDREW T. Foss, bore a noble testimony in this town against the head-quarters of fraud, cunning, hypocrisy and oppression, the American Government and the American Church.

"Say to the righteous, it is well with him;"—*Isaiah*; "Little children, let no man deceive you (about this matter); he that doeth righteousness is righteous;"—*St. John*. The above quotations will readily suggest to the reader at all familiar with anti-slavery preachers, the searching application of the text to the character of individual men and organized bodies or nations.

The starting-point of the morning's discourse was this plain proposition, viz., that it is always safe to do right and never safe to do wrong; and it is impossible to succeed in any enterprise by mixing in a little wrong and a little right, even when the end to be obtained is a good one. Ends, however good, never did and never can sanctify unrighteous means. By many well known facts, he maintained that our Government and the American Church, (two institutions in crime,) instead of practising according to the divine truth in the text, and the divine utterance of every undebatched soul, were consoling each other that they had, for the mutual benefit of each, found out a more cunning way than the one recommended by *Isaiah*. Having mixed in a large amount of devilry with a very small amount of righteousness, they seem to think God will never find them out; and their poor dupes still believe they were ordained and set apart to God's glory and the happiness of mankind.

It is impossible to speak of the great crimes of our Government against humanity without implicating the individuals composing the Government, and approving its acts, and the Church, that steps between the Government and the condemnation it richly merits. There is no crime, however enormous, that the Church will not canonize, if she can thereby give power; and the power is the soul and centre of all human governments and man-made churches, the world over.

The bridle said, "Put your trust in my shadow, or let fire come out of the Bramble and consume the Cedars of Lebanon." The modest "vine and good men," declined to be thus ruled. So of virtuous and good men; they desire none to rule over them, nor will they exercise authority over others.

Our politicians saw themselves, and their wicked connection with this murderous and tyrannical Government of ours, in the bright mirror of truth held up to them by Bro. Foss. They felt bad, not on account of their guilt, but because other people saw it also; and they were ashamed of their own lineaments of beast and saint. But they could not dodge; they could not be mistaken; they knew the truth had been proclaimed, and could not be denied.

I said these politicians had no place to dodge. Yes, they have, where, when truth assails, "thither flee." The Orthodox temple on the other side of the Common is a very "city of refuge" in such troubles—a very *sancum sanctorum*; for these Orthodox brethren have a long lived in open rebellion against God and humanity, that it is to them holly uncouth when wincing Unitarians honor them with their presence.

A few honest feelings makes them wondrous kind. They can unite in condemnation of the "treasonable Abolitionists," but there is scarcely an end to their quarrels, carried on every day in the week and every week in the year. But when they meet common foe, then they coalesce as readily as did Herod and Pilate on a similar occasion.

But you must not infer from what I have said, that any considerable portion of the Unitarian parish in this town are such miserable cowards as to shrink from the truth, plainly uttered, or so fastidious as to complain of the phrasology of an anti-slavery preacher, and make that an excuse for withdrawal. It is only the rankest bunkering and know-nothingism that sound the notes of alarm, and any watchword that serves their ends best is chosen for the time being. This class of people are not careful to leave a record of their lives for their children to look upon.

"That they may see their father's face,
When he is dead and gone."

To give you a clearer idea of Bro. Foss's success, I must relate one additional event that took place while he was with us. It was proposed to have a discourse in the hall in the evening, but it was peremptorily denied us by the Chairman of the Parish Committee, Mr. THOMAS JEFFERSON DOW,—"a gentleman of property and standing," he having occupied a seat in the General Court of Massachusetts within a few years. Now, this hall is used for all sorts of meetings, from Jim Crow concerts to pack-peddlers' vendues. Yet, without

decided measures to free herself from the stain of this great evil.

"Resolved, That we concur with the North Ohio and Erie Conferences in recommending to the next General Conference so to do the same on Slavery as to read: 'The buying or selling of any human being, with the intention of enslaving such person, or holding any person in slavery, where emancipation can be effected without injury to the slave.'

It will be understood that the above-named three Conferences recommend the rule just mentioned to the General Conference of the M. E. Church, which will meet next May at Indianapolis, to be adopted as the rule of the entire Church on the subject of slavery. With these and many other facts before my mind of the same character, I cannot believe Mr. Johnston when he proclaims in the public papers that this same Church "tries by every means in its power to perpetuate slavery, and to prevent the anti-slavery cause from progressing. If he has proofs to establish such a glaring statement, it is due to himself, to the M. E. Church, and to the public, that he make them known."

Again, he says:—"As the pro-slavery character of the M. E. Church is so well known, and its hypocrisy so fully unmasked, even in Ireland, I can scarcely think that those who sent out the deputation were not aware of the responsibility they would incur in thus recognizing as Christian a church and priesthood who are as deadly foes to the true gospel of Jesus it has ever had to contend with, not excepting the Jewish priests who crucified him." This is a reproach of deeper dye than the other, if true.

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Yours, &c.,
EDWARD DAVIS.

Scarborough, (Me.) Jan. 29, 1856.

Unfinished sketch of a letter commenced by Mr. Estlin the day before his fatal illness:—

BOSTON, June 7, 1855.

DEAR SIR.—I am very anxious for you to enlighten — as to the course she is taking on anti-slavery matters. I am sure she would not knowingly do the cause any injury, but it requires an amount of knowledge of the anti-slavery movement which cannot be acquired in this country without a good deal of pains, to adopt that course which is consistent both with the best interests of the cause and with liberal sentiments.

I have been concerned to see her name as a receiver for the Rochester Bazaar, especially as she was last year a receiver for the Boston Bazaar. It is very fine and very sentimental to talk about helping all anti-slavery parties in America, but those who affect to do this, are either very ignorant, have the true interests of the slave very little at heart. The Boston Bazaar is the one connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society. That Society is the only pure, unsectarian, unpolitical Society in America, and is managed by some of the most unselfish, high-principled, earnest, and exemplary people that I have ever known, whom it is an honor and privilege to co-operate with. They are more resemble the early Christians than any band of philanthropists I ever met with.

With many thanks, dear Mr. Garrison, for your personal expression of sympathy, and with kind and grateful regards to each member of the Executive Committee, I remain,

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Yours most sincerely and affectionately,

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE BETRAYAL.

'What will ye give me, and I will deliver him up to you?'—Matt. 25: 15.

Oh, ye who search, page after page, God's word, Hoping to find some warrant for the guilt

Of slavery, that most horrible of sins;

That sin 'gainst God, your neighbor and yourselves,

For it degrades the nature you partake,

Pause, when ye read the Gospel of our Lord;

Study it deeply, meditate upon it,

And sit with humble Mary at his feet:

Pray for a spirit meek and teachable,

Meek, teachable, and trusting as a child:

Then, when ye read of Judas—he who sold

His Master unto death, How would you start,

And haughtily denounce the atheist's name,

The atheist's unbelief? Yet have ye not

An atheist-heart? for every heart that owns

A master—God, a master—Christ, must strive

To keep the precepts taught us by that Lord.

Hear your great Master's words, the Lord whose name

Ye call you by, O, self-styled Christians! hear!

'God is your Father; men are brethren all:

As ye would have your brother do to you,

So do ye unto him.' And read ye this,

Slave-masters and slave-hunters, and still dare

To buy and sell your brethren?—dare to hunt

With dog and gun, God's children?—dare to wound,

To maim, to kill Christ's brethren?—his, who said,

'In truth I say to you, that, forasmuch

As you withhold all kindness unto such

As need you and sympathy, from me,

Your Lord, whose brethren these are, even from me,

Ye, in their persons, do withhold your aid?

If thus neglect be sinful, think how great

Their sin, who hold God's children as vile slaves?

Dare not to call you by Christ's name, yet ask,

Like sordid Judas: 'What will ye give me,

And I will sell Christ's brother unto you,

Sell you the little ones like those he bled,

Sell you the wife, the mother, sacred names,'

Can ye thus if ye believe Christ's words?

Can ye believe God is omniscient?

Dare you reflect he reads the inmost heart?

He reads the heart, detects the sophistry

With which you strive to gloss your crime, and plead

The Bible sanctions selling men for gold!

'What will ye give,' said Judas, 'that I may

Deliver him ye seek into your power?

Ye dare not apprehend him in the city;

Pay me, and I will bring you in the night

Where he holds lonely communion with his thoughts;

Give me a band of soldiers, let he call

His watchful, trusty friends to succor him.

What will ye pay me?' Wicked lust of gold!

That in the secret atheist-heart cries, 'Give,

Give, give me gold, and I will back return

The fugitive to bondage; my cold eye

Shall view, unmoved, his agony, when all

His hopes of freedom die; and my dull ear

Be deaf to all the pleadings of despair.

What do ye offer me to render back

The fugitive to slavery and chains,

Obedient to your Southern men's stern law?'

But, although gold be mighty, be the strength

Of powerful Mammon, and his worshippers

Be, like those sons of Balaam, by myrds numbered,

Who, mocking, stood around Elijah's altar,

Yet as in Israel, so in thy fair land,

Columbus, are hearts noble and brave,

Noble, and brave, and true; not bowed to wealth;

Who never bought or sold the Savior's brethren,

Or, bribed by Judas-gold, or terrified

By base, ignoble threats, sent back the slave.

Glorious heroes once! to such as ye

My heart bows down in homage. Hero-worship,

Were such permitted, surely were your due.

Scoulers may style you unbelievers, but

Actions show deep faith in God and goodness.

The thoughtless, selfish crowd brand you as evil,

Yet History will do you ample justice, when

With proud pen she sums her worthies up,

America's glorious true men and women!

A prison may confine the outward frames

Of Slavery's martyrs; but their soul has said,

'Blest are ye when ye suffer for the Right,

And men speak ill of you, and persecute:

All the kind acts ye have to sufferers done

Shall be accepted as if done to me.'

O Generous! O Brave! how will your names

Endure your descendants! Kings may give

High-sounding titles; but posterity

Will render a heart-homage to the children

Of Slavery's martyrs—Slavery's glorious victors.

And when by penitence and righteous laws

America is cleansed from slavery's shame,

No household name will be more dear, more sacred,

Than yours, courageous, self-denying patriots!

JANE ASHBY.

Kent, (England,) Dec. 29, 1855.

From the Liberty Bell for 1856.

LINES.

SUGGESTED BY A LOCUS OF HAIR FROM OUR DEPARTED FRIEND, CATHERINE SARGENT.

BY L. M. CHILD.

That little lock of silvery hair

Reminds me of what friendly care!

And gratefully my memory pays

Its tribute to departed days.

Thou good old friend, so kind and true!

Thy worth was known to very few.

Not in the gloom of noon-day sun

Thy kind and gentle deeds were done;

And silently thy prayers did rise,

With offerings of self-sacrifice.

Not for thy goodness unto me

Do I revere thy memory;

But for the love that never failed,

The courage, too, that never quailed,

When the poor orphan breathed a sigh,

Or slaves required thy sympathy.

While statesmen argued day and night,

To settle whether wrong was right,

Thou hadst no need of subtle art,

Seeing truth with thy honest heart;

Religion was not unto thee

Any reconcile mystery.

God loves all, was the simple creed.

Which served thee in each hour of need.

Guileless thy life, serene thy death;

And when had passed thy latest breath,

From thy attendant angel's glance

A light fell on thy countenance;

A gleam of bright celestial love;

Touching this earth from realms above.

HOME.

My place is in the quiet vale,

The chosen haunt of simple thought;

I seek not Fortune's flattering gale,

I better love the peaceful lot.

I leave the world of noise and show,

To wander by my native brook;

I ask, in Life's unruffled flow,

No treasure but my friend and book.

PERCIVAL.

A NIGHT-THOUGHT.

How oft a cloud with envious veil

Obscures thy bashful light,

Which seems so modestly to steal

Along the waste of night!

Thy thus the world's obtrusive wrongs

Obscure with malice keen

Some timid heart, which only longs

To live and die unseen.

THE LIBERATOR.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE

STATE CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN.

Held in the City of Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 16th,

17th and 18th, 1856.

The Convention was called to order by the Chairman of the State Central Committee, and, on motion of John Booker, D. Jenkins to perform certain public duties, in the discharge of which J. M. Langston expended thirty-three dollars, of which but five have been refunded, and D. Jenkins the sum of twenty-five dollars; therefore,

Resolved, That the delegates composing this Convention be requested to raise a fair proportion of said amounts, in their counties, and forward the same to a committee of three in the city of Columbus, who shall have charge of said funds, and who shall appropriate them to the satisfaction of said claims. We also recommend that the claims of John J. Gaines and Peter

Langston, for thirty dollars, expended by them for printing the Minutes of the Convention of 1852, be allowed.

D. Jenkins, P. H. Clark, C. A. Yancey, were appointed committee.

21. Resolved, That each delegate present be requested to order a copy or copies of the *Ohio Columbian*, containing the proceedings of our Convention, and be requested to read such proceedings to their constituents, and urge them to carry out the recommendations therein contained.

22. Resolved, That Messrs. Clark, J. M. Langston, John S. Gaines, James Polk, John Booker, A. Scott, L. D. Taylor, be appointed a Committee to wait upon the Legislature now in session, asking a hearing concerning the grievances of which we complain.

23. Resolved, That this Convention return thanks to the City Council for the use of the City Hall; also, to the officers of the Convention, for the manner in which they have performed their duties.

The Committee on Business reported the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That slavery is to be deeply deplored, because it is destructive of 'whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, and whatsoever things are of good report.'

2. Resolved, That it may be appropriately characterized as the sum of all villainies, the perfection of all wickedness and outrage, the master-piece of all the devices which Satan has invented to alienate man from his brother man, and thereby destroy the happiness of the human family.

3. Resolved, That we regard all organizations, whose object the maintenance of this stupendous system of oppression, as engaged in a crusade against our holy religion, against the pure principles of righteous civil government, against the spirit and tendency of genuine civilization, and against the tenderest and most important rights which belong to humanity.

4. Resolved, That we are compelled to believe, in view of its own pro-slavery and uncharitable action, in view of the inconsistent and unmanly conduct of its agents and leading members, that the professions made by the American Colonization Society, of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive, and their pretensions of interest in behalf of the nominally free colored people of the country, hollow-hearted and contemptible.

5. Resolved, That we look upon the Society as the embodiment of the pro-slavery sentiment of the country; that its prime object is the perpetuity of slavery; and, while it is unworthy of our confidence and support